1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day.

Mr. Heald writes:—

"The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements.

"Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . .

"Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food."

Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions.

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca.

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks,

roaming far afield in search of water and pasture. They work in the fields, milk the animals (with the exception, in some cases, of camels), gather the firewood, and fetch the water. They are not so careful to keep themselves veiled, finding it sufficient to draw their head cloths in front of their mouths. If she belongs to a nomadic tribe a woman will follow her husband in his search for grazing, carrying the household utensils, usually one large saucepan, on her head and the baby on her back. Only very occasionally do the women emigrate with their husbands, but we travelled with such a family on the start of their journey to Zanzibar to seek a fortune.

The remaining women are those of the poor townspeople, the female servants, slaves, or Subians. The last two are least particular about veiling. The others, no matter how poor, will always cover at least the lower part of their faces. Toil is the portion of all of them: they labour in the gardens, help the men and animals to draw water from the wells, and in many towns they are the principal water carriers, bearing their burden in skins slung across their backs. The servants and slave women in well-to-do houses lead an easier existence. They cook the food, do such cleaning as is ever done, and fetch and carry for the ladies of the household. Slaves may be taken as concubines, but find their husbands among their own class. They are much favoured, being brought up as members of the family, and, like many privileged retainers, usually become somewhat outspoken and domineering in their old age.

CHAPTER VII.

PRODUCTION AND RESOURCES OF THE HADHRAMAUT.

The natural resources of the Hadhramaut, such as they are, are principally agricultural. It is perhaps unnecessary to emphasize that only a very small proportion of the total area of the country, which may amount to 35,000 or 40,000 square miles, is suitable for the growing of crops. As a general rule only wadis can be so used and the bulk of the land surface consists of the barren rock of mountains and steppes.

Tobacco.

The principal crop of economic importance is the well-known Hamumi tobacco, and Gheil ba Wazir is the principal centre where it is grown. Practically speaking the production in that place is entirely Government-directed and all the land is State land.

The nurseries are situated about three miles from Gheil at Al Quf. Here there is an apparently inexhaustible, somewhat brackish, water supply at depths to about 30 feet from the surface. There are three deep pools which are tapped by subterranean channels for Gheil and Al Harth, the source of the Gheil water supply being called Humat al Farath, and that for Al Harth being called Humat al Harth. Along the line of channels from these pools there are

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

A tribe allied to the Tamimi. The *mansab* is Zein bin Hasan Balfaqih. 619 631 101

MANAHIL.

Clan.	*Section.*	*Places.*	*Nos.*	*'Aqil.*
Beit Kasim ...	Beit Ghānim	An Neid	40	'Aidha bin Tanāf.
	Beit al Batīn	do.	60	do.
	Beit Rasī'a	do.	150	do.
	Beit al Hamādī	do.	28	do.
	Beit Nahāt	An Neid and As Sōm	80	do.
	Beit Barakāt	As Sōm and Fughma	30	do.
	Beit Nas'ūd	do.	15	do.
	Beit Nōkhat	—	50	do.
Beit Mu'ashini	Beit al Bāqiya	Sena and An Neid	100	Yeslam bin Salim.
	Beit Sālmīn	do. do.	50	do.
	Beit al Qūeinisa	do. do.	60	do.
	Tammān	do. do.	100	do.
	Hushhūsh	do. do.	300	do.
	Muzābbar	do. do.	100	do.
	'Atūnī	An Neid	100	do.
Al Bawāqī ...	—	do.	100	—
As Samāh ...	Samāh ar Raqāa	Near the coast	100	—
	Samāh al Ghuthma	—	50	—
	Samāh Beit Khafr	At Al Masīla	180	—
	'Adūl	—	100	—
Tha'in and Beit Farād.	—	—	250	—
Beit Dahein ...	—	—	50	—
Beit Qumsīt ...	—	—	500	—
Beni Sa'id ...	—	—	—	—
Beni Ujeil ...	—	Near Qabr Hud	—	—
			2,593	

The Manahil are a strong nomad tribe occupying the country east and north of the Hamumi and up into the Rub'al Khali. The southern part of Reida and the country from Damakh to upper Hadhramaut belong to them, and they have a few small settlements east of Qasm. They have an " A 'ahd " agreement with the Qu'aiti.

They breed camels extensively like their neighbours in the south-east, the Mahras, both for sale and for hire. Their camels are said to be finer and stronger than those of the Sei'ar, and the average price is estimated at about 200 rupees a camel. Female camels are seldom sold and are used both for breeding and riding. Women do not milk camels among the Manahil. 231 435 [563]

The tribe are said to raid as far as the Central Nejd and sometimes to the outskirts of Kuweit, passing the sandy stretch by routes known only to themselves. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Mahras in the steppe. We found that when passing through Mahra territory they declare themselves Tamimis. Bertram Thomas also says that " Bin Tannaf is the hereditary title of the

619 721 622

[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM 2 Hadhramaut MM 2

A lady MEMBER asked for information with regard to weddings or customs relating to the women.

Major HAMILTON said that in the big towns the women married to rich or ultra-respectable people were in purdah. Over the whole of the Protectorate women normally walked about unveiled and free, but in some tribes in the Yemen they had most peculiar veils of all varieties. Women had a tremendously powerful influence on political affairs. They would have heard of Mrs. Ingrams, who went into the harem and talked to the women. She had enormously extended the influence of the political officer. He thought it was safe to say that the women in the harem could influence two-thirds of the people while the political officer could only influence one-third. He therefore thought it was a point for consideration whether more lady doctors, who could speak Arabic and who were young and prepared to travel, should not take up work in these places, where they could go into the harem and influence mothers and wives.

In reply to a question as to how any business was conducted in the democratic tribes, Major HAMILTON said that the Chief would go back to his village with a proposition, whereupon anybody who had any influence in the tribe would meet him. There would be a frightful noise, and eventually he would say, "This is what I have been told"; then several people would jump up and say, "This is where I die; I am not going to do this." There would be a very long parley which would sometimes end in bloodshed. Sometimes, when it was a question of the payment of a Government fine, the whole tribe would split up, and then there was no opportunity of getting them together again in order to obtain any sort of concerted action. Once he was out on a very hot day and came on about forty men walking backwards away from each other with rifles pointing at each other. He shouted a greeting in a loud jovial tone. They all stopped and kept one eye on him and one eye on each other. He said, "What is going on?" and they answered, "A peace conference." (*Laughter.*)

Dr. HUGH SCOTT said he thought that Major Hamilton had made an extremely important point when he indicated that none of these social conditions were static, and there was a danger in accepting as final the reports of anthropologists and travellers who were only there for a short time and could only give a record of things as they found them at that time.

He wished to bear witness to the value of the work which Major Hamilton had put on record. He had been privileged to see him at work among the tribes for a short time when he was up in the hills under Major Hamilton's protection and the protection of one of the Chiefs who had appeared on the screen. He was now having to compile all sorts of information about those and adjacent parts of Arabia, which meant extensive reading, and he had not read in any book an account which equalled in detail and exactitude Major Hamilton's description of the social organization of the tribes.

On the political side, when he was in the Aden Protectorate he had discussed with English friends, officers of the Aden Government, the question whether the policy of indirect administration would be sufficient

ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *vumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

The Sheshwani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MMS Hadhramaut MM2

535 585 534

The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwasi* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwani is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

THE SHERHA DANCE.

535 585 562

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

535 585 534

The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilaw* is served and coffee also.

KINANDA DANCE.

535 562 517

This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position, executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire.

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings.

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks.

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 542 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 575 552 582 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

12: Skene G.B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on.

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used.

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

THE MWASHA DANCE

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation.

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *tumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance).

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served.

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 567 562 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards, the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

535 534

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 171 567 562 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasaland and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the forearm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 534 782 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

12: Skeat G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round.

The Mdema Dance.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary.

The Kindimba.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled.

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing.

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

The Vugo.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom.

The Kintago Dance.

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any

[SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

WE PUT THE GARRISON INTO THE
grass hut, as the *murabba'a* was occupied by a woman who had been bitten by a snake and the Sheikh asked us not to disturb her: it was part of her treatment that she should not be seen. A thin trail of ash had been sprinkled round the building to keep other snakes away.

During the day we collected other 'Abdulla bin 'Aun who came and watched us from a distance in little groups. Somehow they seemed to be fascinated by us, for although they would not come when we shouted to them, they made no attempt to move or to resist when we walked over to them and told them to come along with us. Few of them were armed, and neither were we until the garrison came along. There were a couple of wells in commission, and I was told that at one time there had been as many as eighty-one. Some of the Badawin showed us on the wall of a cliff little columns of holes bored in soft stone. You counted up the holes and then stepping that number of paces from the column found yourself on a buried well.

Having explored the neighbourhood of the fort we went to see the site for a landing-ground which had been previously decided on from the air. Unfortunately it had to be at some little distance from the fort—2 or 3 miles—but it was a marvellous landing-ground and greatly pleased the Royal Air Force when they came along later in the day and flew Seiyid Bubekr and myself back to Seiyun.

On later visits I had the opportunity of seeing all the surrounding country from the air, and I was struck by the truth of the saying that Al 'Abr is the "Key of the Hadhramaut," for behind the mountains tracks radiated out in all directions to Nejran, the Yemen, and Shabwa and the Western Aden Protectorate. From Al 'Abr eastwards there was only the one track. I have visited Al 'Abr five times on the ground and passed over it many times by air, and on each occasion I have been struck by the large number of caravans which halt there for water. For a week or two after our occupation there was some falling off, as the Badawin were not certain of our intentions, but now it seems that far more come than before; they have a sense of security which was previously lacking when the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were constantly looting them. My own belief, which is shared by responsible opinion in the Hadhramaut, is that before long a town will spring up there, as it forms an ideal place for a market and there is plenty of good water. The wells are not much more than 20 feet deep, cut through the soft limestone, and as soon as you draw the water out it runs in again in such a way as to give you the impression that there must be an underground river. On the first visit I took there a party of skilled builders from Tarim and they set to work at once to rebuild the fort. They also opened another well or two, and if we can find the money we shall open more, for these increased facilities are much appreciated by the Badawin.

Amongst the visitors who come are a large number of women. Thereabouts they are unveiled and talk fearlessly and freely with you. I found these girls very charming and full of courage. They thought nothing of journeys alone with camels across the desert, from the Jof for instance, and it is the women throughout the Hadhramaut who appreciate the peace more than any one. They have often said that in the old days they always lived in fear that when their menfolk parted from them they might not see them again.

Bl: Thomas F6 (no date) 1982 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only.

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *qasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *qadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talag* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives (father or brother) descend to the plain where a *qadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring—

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

4. A WONDERFUL RECEPTION IN THE GARDEN CITY SEḤĒL SHIBĀM.

491 The families of Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam are on the best of
493 friendly terms with the Sultan and arrange matters with him. A little later the great dark-red cars buzz through the gate and cross the *sēl*-bed in the direction of the palm-groves, called Seḥēl Shibām. Only in the last few years has the motor-car penetrated as far as Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has made this possible by the construction of motor roads. Motor-cars can, with great difficulty, be brought from the port of esh-Shiḥr to Terīm. The separate parts of the cars have to be transported on camels for a great part of the way.
562 From the road one can see very little of the palm-groves
529 and the summer pavilions in their midst; high mud walls shut
576 off the gardens from the gaze of passers-by. There is one exception to this, where the central point is formed by a new building in modern style. This is the club of the young men of Shibām; no women come here and so there is nothing to shut
312 off. A little further on the cars turn into the gateway that
342 gives entrance to the garden of the Āl Ṭuwēy and Laᶜdjam.
177 This summer abode of their joint families is still uninhabited;
351 the time for moving from town to country has only just come. There is a well behind the house, from which oxen and donkeys draw up the water, clear as crystal, though tasting somewhat bitter. All around there are banana and papaya trees, pomegranate and lemon bushes as well as date-palms. The new summer pavilion is in the depths of the garden; our host has devoted his leisure to building it. It is a product of Ḥaḍramī imagination influenced by Singapore and Java. For the outer walls chaste, simple white has been abandoned and is replaced by soft green, rose and sky-blue. The great windows are framed by coloured ornamentation. Connected with the villa is a swimming-bath with a high parapet. One has a great longing for colour in this sunny land, where it is so lacking, and this fairy palace strikes a happy note among

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

to our host's little collection. After much insistence the caravan leader agreed to this, but when falling darkness forced us to leave el-ʿUrr, we noticed that the owner of our camels, who had come with us in person, was carrying the stone on his shoulder. He thought that it would injure his camels, although they were very lightly laden, and he demonstrated by running fast, jumping, and so forth, that it was no hindrance to himself!

9. AN EXTRAORDINARY NIGHT.

It was pitch-dark as we approached Bā Ḥafār, lying at the entrance of Wâdī el-Khūn, which runs from the north. We had to follow the *sēl*-bed, which was full of water, after having ridden for some time through a narrow date plantation beside the bank. My donkey caused great consternation when, having had a long drink, he lay down at his ease in the middle of the lukewarm pool. Everyone rushed, in answer to our cry of distress, to rescue the instruments and photographic material from the saddle-bags; the donkey's bath ended however without doing any damage.

Bā Ḥafār is a miserable village, with inhabitants as poor as Job and living in huts. Its mud houses have been destroyed in tribal warfare; the remaining population is too weak in numbers and strength to rebuild them. Only one mud house had been restored, and on its roof we pitched our camp for the night in brotherly company. Very soon a number of inquisitive men came to the roof to enjoy the unexpected sight. Here something happened that we had never experienced before: the women-folk also came, a little later, to satisfy their curiosity. They sat down, huddled against each other, in a corner of the roof opposite to that which we had chosen for sleeping, with only the stairway space between us. As they had no thought of going away again and were enjoying intensely the novelty of what they saw, we were obliged to go on with our business without letting their presence disturb us.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

place consists of a few small houses and sheds, built of stone and mud and with flat mud roofs. There are still some green leaves left on the few *nibq* trees growing between the cultivated acres, and these, to the last leaf, are gathered for the goats. The latter, with outstretched necks, stand watching the movements of a shepherdess who, armed with a long stick, was climbing about at the top of the tree to knock off the foliage. Only one family lived in the hamlet; an empty house was offered to us as a lodging. No eggs, no flour, no rice, no milk were to be bought here, the only thing obtainable being large quantities of the dried fruit of the *nibq* tree, which help one to stave off starvation. These are ground to powder and then made into porridge or bread. When eaten raw only the thin rind of dried pulp is edible; the seed, which is as hard as stone, is then thrown away. The *nibq* menu is eked out occasionally with a little goat's milk or camel's milk, and when the date harvest is gathered in Wādī Dōʿan a portion of it will find its way to the Deyyin Bedouins, who, in return, protect the inhabitants of the wādī against enemies. All the same, a long hard training is necessary in order to live on such a minimum of food as these Bedouins seem able to do in times of drought. The few shepherds and shepherdesses whom we met later in similar depressions of the ground and in wādīs where some bushes and trees were growing had as their only food-supply small round woven baskets filled with dried *nibq* fruit.

Thanks to the ready tongue of our *siyāra*, Sayyid el-ʿĒderūs, as well as to the respect accorded to all sayyids among these simple folk, we succeeded in photographing the female inhabitants of the hamlet consisting of a mother, two daughters and a friend.

The women go unveiled and are much more free and open in their manner than in Wādī ʿAmd. They seem to feel quite safe, for we met them far away from their homes, alone with their flocks or on their way to some business in another hamlet hours distant. Maryam, encouraged by her mother, even yield-

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education.

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day.

HEALTH

Western Aden Protectorate

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate.

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of " the empty quarter " of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there.

Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered